

again, and there is no other country we would trade it for. What country would we trade our country for? None. We are a great nation. But what makes us great is our diversity and our ability to come together. That is what we should be doing.

I hope the President-elect will reconsider naming Stephen Bannon as his chief White House strategist and understand what kind of signal this sends to the country. We do not need more division. We certainly do not need people who might attack someone because of their religion. We need people who will realize the United States is an inclusive country, not an exclusive country. This is not the message we should send within our own country or throughout the world.

Mr. Bannon wants to continue making these horrible and offensive comments, as he has a First Amendment right to do at Breitbart News, but let us not have that be the example set from the White House, by the President of the greatest nation on Earth.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I believe Senator WARREN of Massachusetts will be joining me on the floor, and I ask unanimous consent that if she is here on the floor at the conclusion of my remarks that she be recognized next so that our remarks can be conjoined with one another.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I thank the Chair.

#### WORKING ACROSS PARTY LINES

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, one of the hallmarks of President-Elect Trump's campaign was his desire, often stated, to clean up Washington, to lift the dark hand of special interests off of the levers of government and, as he said it in his speeches, to drain the swamp here. I would like to assure the President-elect that on this side of the aisle we are very keen to work with him on a whole variety of reforms to control the role of big special interests, their lobbying apparatus, and their political machinery here in Washington.

I very much hope that President-Elect Trump will indeed choose to work with us. I hope he will bear in mind that although he won the electoral college, it appears now clear that Secretary Clinton actually won the popular vote and that she may have won the popular vote by as many as a million votes.

It is also worth noting that if 2012 is any prologue to 2016, it is likely that

Democratic Members of Congress—of the House of Representatives—received more votes than Republican Members of Congress. The shift and the reason for Republican control of the House of Representatives has been the gerrymandering effort that has packed Democrats into very heavily saturated Democratic districts so that Republicans can create strong—but not massive—majority districts for themselves. I believe in the last Presidential election, States such as Pennsylvania and Ohio reelected Democratic Senators statewide, elected a Democratic President statewide, but then sent heavily Republican delegations to the House of Representatives because of that gerrymandering.

It may be a fluke of the way the California vote would have shaken out, but it would not surprise me if it turned out in this election that Democratic Senators and candidates for the Senate received a bigger popular vote than Republican Senators and candidates for the Senate. Those numbers are not in yet.

My point is that I hope President-Elect Trump will recognize that in a divided Nation, it makes more sense and it will bind us together better if we try to work together across party lines rather than try to ramrod a hard-right partisan agenda through. There is no place I can think of—perhaps infrastructure, but few places where we are more willing to hear his ideas and work with him than on draining the swamp.

The environment here in Washington is obviously one that lends itself to very substantial political manipulation. In all of that political manipulation, most of the cards are with the big special interests. Indeed, corporate lobbying of Congress has been reviewed and measured as being more than all other lobbying of Congress combined by a ratio of 30 to 1. So if we are wondering where the power structure comes down here in this building, think about a 30-to-1 advantage for corporate lobbying over all other lobbying combined.

There are issues where I think we can work together if, in fact, President-Elect Trump wishes to drain the swamp. There are substantive issues. One of the things I have been concerned about has been the carried interest loophole, which is a quirk of the Tax Code that allows people who are hedge fund billionaires to pay a lower tax rate than a brick mason or a truck-driver does. That, to me, is not fair.

We have seen some reflections of this in studies that looked at, for instance, an enormous building in Manhattan in New York City. The building is so big that it has its own ZIP Code, and because the Internal Revenue Service calculates tax payments and income by ZIP Code, we can get a general sense of how much money the individuals in that building make and how much they pay in taxes. What we see when we look at that study is that the average income of the inhabitants of that

building is well over \$1 million, but the tax rate they paid was actually in the low teens in terms of a percentage tax rate. And if you look at what the Department of Labor says about security workers and janitorial workers, we see that they pay more like a 20- to 30-percent tax rate in New York City. So what that leaves us with is a circumstance in which the hedge fund mogul coming back to his luxury apartment building in his limousine, as he steps out into the rain, is paying a lower tax rate than the doorman or the security official or the janitor working in that building. The doorman holding the umbrella over the head of the billionaire is probably paying a higher tax rate than the billionaire.

I can see why Donald Trump raised that issue on the campaign, and I can see why crowds responded to that. It is a disgrace in the Tax Code. We would love to work with him, but then we look at who his transition team is. The chiefs of his transition team are a whole slew of hedge fund and Wall Street billionaires—the people getting out of the limo paying the low tax rates. When it comes time for Donald Trump to keep his promise on carried interest, it will be interesting to see if he can hold his own against the insiders around him who want to preserve this disgraceful tax loophole.

We want to work with him on infrastructure. We think there should be a big infrastructure bill. The civil engineers of this country give our infrastructure a D. Everybody who drives on our roads or crosses our bridges knows we need to invest in infrastructure, but the Koch brothers have already thrown down a gauntlet saying they will challenge the President-elect on that infrastructure plan. Will he have the strength to proceed, or will the insider lobbying political operation of the Koch brothers block him? It is another contest that remains to be seen between insider politics and the President-elect.

Finally, the biggest swamp thing of them all is the fossil fuel industry. The fossil fuel industry has more or less taken over the Republican Party in Congress. What remains of the Republican Party in Congress is a little bit like what remains of that unfortunate farmer in “Men in Black” whose body was occupied by the alien, who then walked around in the skin and the overalls of the unfortunate farmer. The fossil fuel industry is a special interest. It is the biggest swamp thing in the swamp. Will the President-elect be willing to take it on in any respect? That, too, remains to be seen.

There are a lot of very powerful creatures in the swamp. It is one thing to say you are going to drain it; it is another thing to actually take them on.

I am here to assure the President-elect that not just I but many Democrats would like to work with him toward responsible climate policies, notwithstanding the nefarious presence of the fossil fuel industry; toward an infrastructure bill, notwithstanding the

ideological position of the Koch brothers; and on carried interest, notwithstanding the infiltration already of his transition team by Wall Street special interests.

With that, I yield the floor to my outstanding colleague from Massachusetts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

#### PRESIDENT-ELECT TRUMP

Ms. WARREN. Mr. President, last week Hillary Clinton got about 1 million more votes than Donald Trump; yet here we are—Donald Trump won the Presidency. Across the Nation, everyone is wondering what happens next.

It has been barely a week, but we have already seen disgusting ideas emerging from Trump Tower: Put a White supremacist in the White House; float a plan to register all Muslim Americans; draw up plans to round up millions of human beings and rip families apart across this Nation. It is sickening, and we will fight back. But, hey, at least he promised to shake up our corrupt political system, right? I mean, after all, when President-Elect Trump announced his campaign, he called out the politicians who were “controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests.” When he accepted his party’s nomination at the Republican National Convention, he said, “When innocent people suffer, because our political system [ . . . ] has sold out to some corporate lobbyist for cash—I am not able to look the other way.” He promised that he would “not be controlled by the donors, special interests, and lobbyists who have corrupted our politics and politicians for far too long” and that he would “drain the swamp” in Washington, DC. Those are his words, repeated loud and repeated long during the campaign.

President-Elect Trump has now named most of his transition team. So how is he doing on his rock-solid, double-down promise to get rid of the special interests and the lobbyists? Big surprise. Trump is not “draining the swamp.” Nope. He is inviting the biggest, ugliest swamp monsters in the front door, and he is turning them loose on our government and on our economy. In just 1 week, the President-elect has elevated a slew of Wall Street bankers, industry insiders, and special interest lobbyists to run the show on his transition team. Let’s run through just a few examples.

The guy in charge of staffing the Federal Communications Commission was on Verizon’s payroll and has produced studies aimed at knee-capping the net neutrality rules.

The guy in charge of picking the team that will decide energy policy in a Trump administration is a lobbyist for the oil and gas industry.

The guy picked to staff up the Department of Agriculture is a “veteran food and agriculture lobbyist” whose

firm has raked in millions representing the food industry.

The guy leading the transition for the Environmental Protection Agency has been paid by the oil industry and denies that climate change is real.

The guy heading up the transition team for the Social Security Administration is—you guessed it—a former lobbyist who spent much of his career working to cut and privatize the Social Security system.

The guy—and, by the way, we may have noticed a pattern here: almost all guys—working on transportation and infrastructure is a founding partner at a law firm that lobbies for the National Asphalt Paving Association.

The guy in charge of economic issues for the Trump transition team served for 6 years as chief economist at Bear Stearns—the Wall Street firm that helped crash our economy in 2008, and he now runs a consulting firm for Wall Street clients.

Trump’s very first decision is to hand over the keys of government to the worst kind of DC insiders and special interests. It seems like all those promises to stand up for working people were just a giant con.

As the outrage has now spread, we have heard reports that Vice President-Elect Mike Pence has decided to remove all lobbyists from the transition team. Yeah, I will believe it when I see it. If we learned anything from this campaign, it is that Team Trump will make up things if it seems convenient. Last night we already heard another version of his story. It seems that lobbyists can come on board, but only if they drop their formal lobby registration when they join the team. Swamp monsters today, swamp monsters wearing clean shirts and ties for the transition team tomorrow, and swamp monsters once the transition is over. Putting a clean shirt on a swamp monster doesn’t change anything. They have already had ample opportunity to stuff transition plans with ideas that will be good for their well-connected clients, and they will be disastrous for everyone else.

Besides, even if the lobbyists finish up early and leave, the Trump transition team is still full of industry insiders seeking special deals for themselves and for their companies. This isn’t subtle, and you don’t have to take my word for it. Here is how Politico put it this morning: “A populist candidate who railed against shady financial interests on the campaign trail is now putting together an administration that looks like an investment banker’s dream.” In the same article, one historian said, “You would have to go back to the 1920s to see so much Wall Street influence coming to Washington.”

So what happened? How come the guy who spent the election tweeting “I’m not controlled by lobbyists or special interests” is stuffing his transition team full of lobbyists and special interests? Well, when you ask the President-elect about his flip-flop, he says he

needs lobbyists on his team because “they know the system.” He said, “Everybody’s a lobbyist” in DC. That is literally the opposite of what he said during the campaign, and it is also not true. Many Americans, both inside and outside Washington, have plenty of expertise to serve the American public without being bought and paid for by special interests.

Americans are angry about a Federal Government that works for the rich and powerful and that leaves everyone else in the dirt. Donald Trump knows that. He talked a good game during the campaign, and he promised to end corruption. He promised to drain the swamp. And after 1 week, we have seen what Donald Trump’s promise means—nothing. His word, his promise to the American people, is worth nothing.

Well, Mr. President-Elect, let me be clear: I am ready to fight on behalf of the millions of Americans you have lied to. That includes the millions who voted for you and the millions who didn’t.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CASSIDY). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### TRIBUTE TO STEPHANIE SCHISLER

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to my Deputy Chief of Staff Stephanie Schisler, who is retiring this week after 41 years of service in the Senate. She has been working here longer than 99 of the current Members of the Senate, which you would never know by looking at her because she still looks amazingly youthful, but she and Senator LEAHY, our longest serving Senator today, both began their careers in the Senate in 1975. Her dedication to this institution and to serving our country is absolutely remarkable.

Stephanie is a well-known member of the Senate community, having worked for me as well as four other Senators—Richard Stone, a Democrat from Florida; Bob Kasten, a Republican from Wisconsin; a good friend of mine, Dirk Kempthorne, a Republican from Idaho; and Blanche Lincoln, a Democrat from Arkansas, before joining our office. She has a remarkable record.

Stephanie’s bipartisan resume is a testament to her expertise and her skill, but also to her integrity. Stephanie is beloved by the entire Senate community, from fellow staffers to Capitol police officers, to folks who maintain the building. It seems as though she knows all of them, if you can believe that. She has built wonderful relationships on the Hill, which is one of the reasons she is so effective.